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648 This nineteenth century conception of the Ryukyus as remote and isolated islands in a part of the world in which travel and trade had reached a high degree of development continued unabated to the beginning of the war in the Pacific. The reasons were entirely political. The Ryukyus were part of that walling off process which characterized Japan's policy and strategy toward its island mandates and possessions since the end of the first world war. Okinawa might well have become, as some of the English and American explorers of the nineteenth century hoped, a crossroads of importance in world trade. If it had, it would only have repeated a role it played centuries before.

Since the invasion of 1945, worldwide political realignments have given it a new, and perhaps its most important significance. Its general geography has remained the same. It is the history since the war, and the shaping of ideologies that have brought about this change. Before 1945, Okinawa was regarded by the Japanese as the outer fort and protector of the home islands; during the war, it became the important strategic spot, from the American point of view, for the contemplated invasion of Japan. With the Korean war, it has been transformed from a small outlier in the Pacific to an important strategic center off the Asiatic mainland.

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Regional Differences in Okinawa Island³

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133 Okinawa, the largest of the islands in the Ryukyu chain, is about 485 square miles in area, 510 including its offshore islands, such as the Keram [Text continues on top of p. 12--Analyst]

- 114 3 A cultural geography of Okinawa is a real desideratum. But this is outside the scope of this work. Many materials have been brought together in memoranda, published and unpublished, surveys and the like, since the close of the war and the beginning of the American occupation. Lacking a newer synthesis, it seemed foolish to lengthen this report by merely repeating the published materials already available. The intention in this chapter is merely to indicate some of the general considerations helpful in understanding the history of the island and of contemporary life in the villages described. For the pre-war geographical materials see Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo) Islands, OPNAV 3-13, 3-38, the sections on geography and resources, and passim. Interesting information regarding local geography is scattered through the pages of Okinawa, The Last Battle, and for a general statement, see pp. 7-14. See also Walter R. Hacker's chapter on the Kurils and the Ryukyus in Geography of the Pacific, edited by Otis Freeman, New York and London, 1951, and M. I. Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands..., 11-58. For the geology, see, the CA Handbook, 11-12, Nuttonson, 29-36, and Engineering Geology, Okinawa (Prepared by Military Geology Branch US Geological Survey for Intelligence Division Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, April 1951). This contains an Engineering Geology map of the island. For general relationships in this area see Trewartha, Glenn. T. Japan. A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography, v-ix, 3-4, and the map on the arcs and nodes, 8.

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In the first version, a male person (Shinerikyū) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first kikoe-ch-gin who later headed the institutionalized noro religious system. The second daughter became the first priestess (noro).

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The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Kunshan in the north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day. The districts were divided into mura, or townships. Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a magiri/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku.⁵ There is reason to believe that Tensonshi's dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

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In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

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Events of the Early Historical Period

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Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding influences which these countries could have exerted.

Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29-- (analyst)]

4 Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

5 Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, *ibid*, 77.

contact with Okinawa may have taken place in 743 A.D., but this may have been confined to the island of Kuma, west of Naha, and not involved Okinawa itself. 175
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The modern Japanese contact with Okinawa which brought about the fall of the Tenson dynasty is associated with the arrival at Unten of Tametomo in the latter part of the twelfth century. Some have regarded this as historical, others as perhaps legendary.

Unten, on the Motobu peninsula, is one of the important places in the historical geography of Okinawa island. This is the Port Melville of the Western explorers, Hall and Perry, both of whom charted the bay and its harbor.

Tametomo, of the Minamoto clan, exiled after the final defeat of the Minamoto by the Taira clan in Japan, ultimately reached Unten and there married the daughter of one of the regional nobles, and after a period of civil war, the Tenson dynasty collapsed. In 1187 A. D., the son of Minamoto Tametomo by his Okinawan wife became King Shunten. Shunten, the first of three "Japanese kings," was followed by his son Shumma Junki (1238-1248), and his grandson Gihon (1249-1260). In 1260, the legitimate dynasty was restored under king Eiso.

After his succession, Eiso toured the islands and is credited with setting regular boundaries to rice-fields. "It has been said that this greatly attracted the people so that they started to look after farming." Graves, according to a manuscript history, were first built in the island, at Urasoye, and the Buddhist temple, Gokurakuji was constructed with an officiating priest named Jenkan in charge of the temple. 176A
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The Japanese syllabary may have been introduced at this time. Buddhism apparently did not take hold. Chinese attacks on the islands in connection with the Mongol wars and the attempted invasion of Japan seem to have left no mark on the island. 175
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The year 1372 is the beginning of the period of relationships with the Chinese, in this case, the Ming dynasty. This is contemporary with the growth of a vast trade network involving Korea, Japan, China, the Ryukyus, and Southeast Asia. It is not clear whether the trade voyages under King Satsudo (reigned 1350-1399) to South China, Malaya, and the Philippines were instrumental in stimulating the Ming dynasty to engage in the Pacific trade, or whether the forced alliance of the Ryukyus with the Chinese

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 30--ANALYST]

6 CA Handbook, as cited, 41, and Chamberlain, as cited, 306.

7 Chamberlain, as cited, 308

8 Manuscript history in Leavenworth, The Loochoo islands, 80. On the Japanese syllabary, see Chamberlain, as cited, 306.

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empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuan brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.

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The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife, friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well. This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, perhaps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the countryside the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong. This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested, probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.¹⁰

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In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.¹¹ Chinese artifacts, books, and other articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less so in the other parts of Okinawa.

[Text continues on top of p. 31--Analyst]

9 Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

10 Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

11 Haguenaer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Corée. Bulletin de la maison franco-Japonaise. Série française. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendues, 114.

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439 at Naha, and junks from the south seas touched at that port. Loochoosans in this manner became known to the Portuguese.¹⁵

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648 Political relationships with countries other than China had accompanied this trade. Following the establishment of relations with China in 1372, there were contacts with Korea in 1389 when the woods from the southeastern trade, paper, and other articles originating in Indo-China and the East Indies were presented by King Satsudo of the Ryukyus to the Korean court. These relations with Korea were renewed in 1392 under the new Yi dynasty. The usual route north was from Naha to Hakata in Kyushu to the Korean port of Pusan on the southeast coast, thence overland to the capital city of Seoul. Relationships between the two peoples finally broke off in 1500, although Koreans actually were settled in Okinawa and some were evacuated in 1574.

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648 This was therefore a period of considerable cultural contact with China, Japan, Korea, and with the countries of Southeast Asia, and indirectly with the arts and manufacture of the Mohammedan world and of the Portuguese in the crossroads port of Malacca.

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439 This lively and important trade was brought to an end through three situations: the existence of Japanese pirates, necessitating, at a period toward the close of the era, hiring Japanese Buddhist priests as ambassadors and cargo protectors, (2) the appearance of the Portuguese in the East China Sea, and around 1542 at Tanegashima, one of the northern islands of the Ryukyus southeast of Kyushu, and (3) the maritime expansion of Japan in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the coup de grace to the Ryukyuan trade.

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369 It is likely that many of these outside contacts, even up to the end of the nineteenth century, really affected Naha and Shuri, and that the rural areas were essentially unchanged. This would mean that the two cities had a culture revealing a strong Chinese influence, but also of Japan and perhaps indirectly of other nations, while the rural areas languished in the older elements of the folk culture, such as the priesthood dominated by women. Other facts which will be brought out in the chapters to which they belong tend to substantiate this interpretation that we cannot speak simply of a homogeneous Okinawan culture.

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[439] The conquest of the islands by the Japanese in 1609 was a consequence of the growing trade that had developed with Japan, first with the Shogunate, later, more specifically, with the Satsuma clan. Ultimately the Satsuma clan succeeded in displacing the Shogunate in the Loochoo trade and with the conquest of 1609 the kingdom came under Satsuma influence.

[Text Continues TOP of P. 33--Analyst]

15 On this trade, which is much too complex to treat in a short summary, see Haguenauer, as cited, 4-16. Much new material appeared in two articles by R. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryukyū Gesandtschaften, Monumenta Nipponica, 4(1941), 256-69, and Die Ryukyū-Expedition unter Shimazu Iehisa, ibid, 622-28.

Amami Oshima and the northern islands being directly ceded, the others agreeing to vassalage.

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From this time until the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, the Ryukyu kingdom existed, acknowledging both suzerainty of China and vassalage to Satsuma in a twilight of sovereignty which statecraft and the political realities of the time did not find it necessary to resolve.

During this period of contact with other countries, an intrusion of an entirely different order, but what must have been of revolutionary consequence, was the introduction of the sweet potato in 1605. "In the 10th year /1605/ Moguni Tsunkwan imported sweet potatoes from China. Mashi Oima Uyakata Shinjo obtaining them, planted them in the fields, and in a few years they were raised all over the islands.¹⁶ In view of the widespread reluctance of peoples to adopt new foods, the swift acceptance of the sweet potato is noteworthy. It must have furnished the means of subsistence for a much greater population. The topography, the soils, the fertility of valleys, alluvial plains, and marsh land could not have permitted the growth of rice to feed great masses of people as in China and Japan. This dependence on the sweet potato has persisted to this day. Modern accounts mention the reliance of the ordinary Okinawan on the sweet potato, and in times of stress on the sago palm, or cycad. Rice is seldom if ever mentioned as the food of the common people.

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Scarcely had the sweet potato reached Okinawa, when it was carried to Japan. At first it was known as the kara-mmu (Okinawan) or Karaimo (Japanese), that is the Chinese potato. When it reached Satsuma in Kyūshū, it became known as the Luchuan potato; as it spread northward and eastward in Japan, the Japanese, believing the plant to be a native of southern Japan, called it the Satsuma potato (satsuma imo), and it is by this last name that the sweet potato is known in Okinawa to this day.¹⁷

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Inertia from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries

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The period 1609 to 1871, when the Japanese took their initial steps toward the eventual incorporation of the island of Okinawa within the empire, was a quiescent one, continuing a pattern of life already set. The ideals of the Confucian state were strong. In the 17th century, it

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¹⁶ Quoted from a manuscript history in C. S. Leavenworth, The history of the Loochoo Islands, 88. "Native historians," says Chamberlain, "inform us that it was acclimatized in Luchu and passed into common use within the short period of four years after its first introduction." No further sources are given. Chamberlain, as cited, 302.

¹⁷ On the fortunes of the sweet potato in Japan, see Rein, The industries of Japan, London, 1889, 65.

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succeeded in shearing the noru system of much of its political power. During the early part of the 18th century, there was an improvement in agricultural methods and in forestry conservation, associated with the name of the statesman, Hosui Saion (1682-1761).¹⁸ Saion was a descendant of a Chinese who had settled at Kine near Naha. He is said to have planted several kinds of trees, including the pine, the Japanese redwood (sugi), and the maki (in Japanese; podocarpus spp.) Saion is well remembered in Okinawa. In Matsuda, I was shown trees which were said to have been planted along the road to Ginoza during Saion's lifetime and at his inspiration. There are stories told in the forest areas like Matsuda, crediting Saion with intentionally inventing superstitions to prevent people from cutting down the trees. In 1951, a Saion commemorative stamp was issued, and his name is used frequently in forest conservation literature and in posters. Whether Saion was the medium through which agricultural techniques of Japan or China were introduced, or whether these improvements came from his own initiative and study of local conditions, I have been unable to determine. In any case, the teachings of Saion on agriculture and forestry must have reached to the rural areas, improving the agricultural possibilities and encouraging planting trees and preserving the forests, constantly subject to destruction through fire, carelessness, and merciless cutting for firewood, as has been the case in many parts of China. These improvements, with the advantages from the introduction of the sweet potato one hundred years earlier, took place within the framework of a political and social and religious system that had now been well established.

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European Awareness of the Great Loochoo

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The Loochooans were known to the Portuguese through the trade centering at Malacca. The Portuguese explorer Pinto had visited Tanegashima around 1542. Captain Broughton had been shipwrecked on Miyako to the south in 1798. But the western exploration of Okinawa itself was reserved for later times. During the nineteenth century, the Europeans, then the Americans, became aware of the people of the Great Loochoo.

The first detailed observations based on personal contact date from the works of Captain Basil Hall, and his surgeon, William M'Leod, who
[Text continues TOP of P. 35 -- Analyst]

- 18 In the manuscript history reproduced by Leavenworth, there is this passage: "In the 20th year of Kyoho (1735), Hosui Saion fixed a system for the protection of forestry, and a forestry office and shipping office were established." Op. cit., 89. Saion's famous work, Eight Volumes of Forest Administration, I am told was destroyed in the war. Chamberlain, as cited, p. 310, says that Loochooan polity in the 17th century crystallized in a form it wore from then on.

had been directed by the British government, at the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, to discover and chart waters and routes in the Far East, especially along the China shore. 195 648

Hall found in Okinawa a people who knew nothing of the English or the French. They were acquainted only with the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Koreans. The Okinawans of his day apparently had forgotten any memories of their seafaring in the centuries and this ignorance of their neighbors was reciprocated by the Filipinos.¹⁹

Hall's book describing his journey along the west coast of Korea and to the Great Loochoo, with its engravings and a vocabulary of Loochooan words, is written with spirit and great charm.

Hall's and M'Leod's accounts were very favorable to the Okinawans. They describe an honest, peace loving, unworried people, with neither money nor arms, kindly and hospitable, without guile. According to him, they were gentle and kind, secure within the classes in which their society was organized (and the social distinctions that went with it), adhering with tenacity to their own customs, gracious to those of others, an island of quiet beauty, fertility, and repose. In the manner of the voyages and travels of the times, there are wisps of information about many things, exhaustive accounts of none. Hall described the agriculture, the square plots of rice fields divided from one another by small banks of earth, the picturesque villages with their hedges, arbors, and the creepers over the bamboo, the dress according to rank, the casual attitude toward religion, domestic animals, the lack of carts and wheeled vehicles, the horseshoe tombs, and the tattooing, not of the women, but of the fishermen. [187]

Considering the difficulties Hall and his men had in landing, the endless importunity and cajolery required to get permission to walk along a village road, for the Okinawans were willing to feed, provision and entertain the travellers but were in no mood for guided tours, he has much of interest to record of the island and its people. The expedition travelled around the southeastern and eastern part of the island, made a poor map of the Great Loochoo, and named the town of Uten--called by him Onching or Winching--Port Belville, after the first lord of the Admiralty.

M'Leod's book covered much the same ground. He wrote also of the priestesses (the noros), of the irrigation systems, the Loochooans' lack of money, their use of ginseng, and mentioned the extensive forests.

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¹⁹ Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Lew Chew, 184: "At Manila /sic/ we found that the Great Loo-choo Island was known only by name. There appeared to be no intercourse between the two places." Page 184, footnote. There was some memory of Broughton's shipwreck on Miyako.

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In April 1844, the French corvette *Alcmène* landed at Naha to open up negotiations for trade with France. The local official protested to the French commander that the islands were sterile, provided only a little rice, had no gold, copper, or iron, and that from antiquity they had engaged in a modest trade in rice with the neighboring islands, if drought or floods did not interfere. He implored the French not to land because of the unhealthy climate. The French response was gracious, but a landing was made and a friendly interchange followed. This visit was the beginning of the French missionary effort in the Ryukyus.²⁰

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Belcher's Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Samarang (1846) describes some explorations in Okinawa, but his materials for this island are disappointing.

These earlier travellers generally concerned themselves with casual observations, as they came to the eye, on such subjects as marriage and burial customs, hairdress, religion, and clothing, but on the less colorful and more commonplace but just as important subjects as the family system, land tenure, and land use there is virtually no mention.

The Perry expedition, which first arrived at Okinawa and anchored at the port of Naha on May 26, 1853, made outstanding contributions.²¹ The expedition explored large parts of the island. Previous observers had only touched the coasts or described the areas around Naha and Shuri and Unten. A series of technical papers on such subjects as agriculture, ethnology, and plant and animal life were prepared. Observations were made of court, town, and everyday village life. It is the last document, based on personal observations and exploration, and written from a modern point of view, which appeared before the Japanese formally took over the island and introduced the changes in the last two decades of the century that were to affect the daily life both of the villages and towns and alter the culture fundamentally.

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The land explorations of the Perry expedition, as far as can be determined from the various place names and landmarks which in the account can be identified, included the south, the central, and parts bordering on the northern district of Kunigami. The exploration started from the home of the unhappy Dr. Bettelheim, a converted Jew and the resident missionary in Naha. Bettelheim told the members of the party what he knew of the language, Okinawan knowledge of arms and of money, and of their religion. From Naha, the explorers went to Tsumi, subsequent

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20 Cordier, Henri. *Les français aux îles Lieou K'ieou. Mélanges d'histoire et de géographie orientales. Tome 1*, 296-317.

21 See Hawk's *Narrative of the Expedition*, especially Vol. I, chapters 7-9, 11, and 17, and Vol. II which contains the specialized articles on various aspects of the exploration. See table of contents for the Loochoo articles.

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This last document, written prior to the complete absorption of Okinawa into the Japanese social and political system is still worth careful study. The conditions it describes were probably true for the ensuing thirty or forty years. It is a last glimpse of a culture before being exposed to Western influences indirectly through the Westernization of Japan, which was then just beginning. The Okinawa of 1853 was a terra incognita, but the intervening years have brought many new changes and circumstances throughout the world, and the terra incognita of one age has become a household word of another.

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Okinawa Island, the Capital of a New Japanese Province

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One might well ask why the Japanese changes beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century were so revolutionary, when Japan had exercised an influence in the twilight zone of sovereignty over the islands with China since the early seventeenth century. The answer, I think, is that in the earlier period, Japanese influence was confined largely to the upper level of government, particularly to the handling of foreign relations and trade, and to supervising any contacts between the Okinawans and the Western nations. The members of Perry's expedition mention that there was spying everywhere and that these spies were Japanese in Loochooan dress, an observation about internal espionage not made by Hall about forty years earlier, though it existed from the Japanese conquest of the seventeenth century.

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After the Japanese made the Okinawan king a Japanese marquis, their influence, though gradual, reached down into the masses of the people. A systematic effort was made to replace the old life with the new Japanese ideas, themselves a compound of traditional practices and innovations derived from the west.

Although the Ryukyuan monarchy was restricted in 1871, the prefecture was not actually established until 1879. But the cultural domination of the islands, as distinct from political and police control, must be dated, inexactly, later. The readiness of Okinawans to abandon Chinese customs and to accept Japanese customs seems to have increased after the success of the Japanese in the sino-Japanese war of 1894-95. After the war, the former king of the islands cut his hair, a symbol of acceptance of a more modern way of doing things.

In this period, whether we date it from 1871, 1879, or 1894-95, to the beginning of World War II in Asia, the Japanese made several fundamental changes in Okinawan society. These early changes coincided also with a period in which the Japanese were most hospitable to Western influences. The changes within Japan ranged from the reorganization of the government, a new educational system, the inauguration of a Western calendar, the establishment of post offices and telegraphs to cranes and

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Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

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Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.²⁸

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As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

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Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

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The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

scene of the final campaign of World War II. American landings were made on the Kerama Islands, about 15 miles west of Okinawa on March 26, 1945. By March 29, they had been conquered. The occupation of Keise Island, about eight miles west of Naha, followed soon after. 125
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Plans for the invasion of Okinawa were centered on two areas, the Higashi beaches north of Naha, and the Minatogawa beaches in the southeastern part of the island. The Higashi beaches were finally chosen. On April 1, the invasion began with a simultaneous feint landing above Minatogawa. The invasion was immediately successful, and by the second of April, the American force had patrols on Nakagusuku Bay and occupied the highlands in its vicinity. American troops, athwart the island, had effectively cut it in two. Thenceforth, the main fighting was in the south. The Japanese forces had also been divided.

By the 4th of April, the United States Tenth Army held an area 15 miles long and from three to ten miles wide. The Japanese plan was to concentrate the defenses around and north of the ancient capital of Shuri, with the other principal defenses at Naha, Yonabaru on Nakagusuku (Buckner) Bay. The initial fighting was concerned with American attacks on outposts to the north of the Shuri defense area, and with severe and unsuccessful counter-attacks by the Japanese.²⁹

While the attacks on the Shuri defenses were going on, the Motobu peninsula, extending westward above Nago, was cut off and conquered on April 16-18. Ie Shima fell after the attacks of the 16th and 17th, and was declared secure on the 21st of April. In the south, the "Shuri defense ring," was breached between April 19 and April 24. "If any doubt remained about the kind of fighting that lay ahead before Okinawa could be won, it was dissipated by the heavy combat and high casualties experienced from 19 to 24 April in penetrating the first main ring of the Shuri defense zone."

General Buckner, however, rejected a proposed second landing on the Minatogawa beaches because of the difficulties in supply. In the 2nd Shuri defense ring, the Ikeda escarpment was captured and a Japanese counteroffensive failed. The Americans were able to make an opening to the east of the Shuri line and thus could penetrate into south Okinawa. "At the end of the third week of May the fighting had penetrated to the inner ring of the Shuri defenses." Toward the end of May, two circumstances were clear: "Host of the big prizes-- the port of Naha, the big anchorage of Nakagusuku Bay, Yonabaru, Shuri,

29 Appleman, Roy E., Burns, James H., Gugeler, Russell A., and Stevens, John. Okinawa, the last battle. (U.S. Army in World War II. Historical Division, Dept. of the Army). Washington, 1948. 51-52, 57, 68, 74, 76-77, 83, 93, 125ff.

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Naha airfield, and the flat coastal ground of Southern Okinawa were still effectively denied to the Americans, long after they had expected to capture them. / By the end of May, however, the flower of General Ushijima's forces on Okinawa had been destroyed.³⁰

As American pressure continued, the Japanese command could choose between staying at Shuri, retreating south, or retreating to the Chinen peninsula. The second of these was chosen. The retreat of Japanese soldiers, dressed as civilians, from Shuri is believed to have started on May 22. The ruse was discovered by the Americans on the 30th; Japanese headquarters left Shuri castle around May 29, and by May 31, the destroyed capital was occupied.³¹

After the fall of Shuri, for the Americans the campaign became a task of pushing the Japanese into the sea, and, for the Japanese, one of exacting as many casualties as possible in a struggle the Japanese commander realized to be hopeless.

In the conquest of the south of Okinawa, Minatogawa, one of the villages studied in this report, became a forward unloading point. On May 31, the army boundary extended along the road joining the villages of Chan, Iwa, and Gushichan. Three major areas remained to be conquered. The Chinen peninsula was occupied "against light opposition that indicated an absence of enemy plans for a defense of that area." The Oroku peninsula, south of Naha, and commanding that port, fell on June 15. The last remaining stronghold was in the south. "With the elimination of possible defensive terrain on Chinen Peninsula and in central southern Okinawa, it was becoming evident by the evening of 3 June that General Ushijima intended to stage his final stand on the southern tip of the island, almost certainly on the Yaeju-Dake escarpment..."

Using the port of Minatogawa, the fighting leading up to the attack and conquest of Yaeju-Dake proceeded through the villages of Gushichan and Hanashiro, the second village studied here, and including the dramatic struggles for Hill 95 in the vicinity of Hanashiro. "The battle for the southern tip of Okinawa blazed with orange rods of flame and became a thunderous roar of machine guns, shells, rockets, and bombs." Finally on Hill 89 near the village of Mabuni, the campaign came to an end, 18-21 June 1945.

30 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 146-48, 156ff, 181, 258 (Quoted), 262-63, 281, 301, 351, 360 (Quoted), 383 (Quoted).

31 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 388, 392, 394, 400. For a dramatic description of the appearance of Shuri, see 400-02.

With the suicide, by harakiri, of General Ushijima and his Chief of Staff, General Cho, whose stars "have fallen with the setting of the waning moon over Mabuni,"³² the island was conquered, and though it was not known at that time, this was the "last battle" of World War II.³³

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Unlike the Japanese, the Okinawans seemed unwilling to die when the alternative was death or surrender. They apparently did not take the emperor cult and State Shinto seriously, and though they were conscripted in the Japanese army, they did not identify themselves strongly with the war or its successful conclusion.³⁴

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The Okinawan people showed remarkable ability to stand up under physical and mental strain. Many lived in caves for long periods, subsisting on whatever food could be obtained. Aside from filth diseases and lice infestations, the death of many of the very young, and some of the very old, they suffered little deterioration and recuperated under care of military government teams with the help of American foods and clothing. Professional observers were struck by their lack of mental collapse and breakdown, and one observer has suggested that prolonged breast feeding and free access to the mother's breast in infancy had given the people the emotional security to withstand the trials of the war.³⁵

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Okinawa After the War

The war brought catastrophic upheavals to the civilian population, especially in those areas of greatest military activity. One consequence

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[Text continues TOP of P. 44--Analysis]

- 32 Quoted from Okinawa, the last battle, from the account of a prisoner of war, 470.
- 33 The campaign was declared ended on July 2, 1945. Sources for the statements in this and the preceding paragraphs will be found on pp. 407, 422, 425 (Quotation), 426-27 (Quotation), 437-42, 441 (Quotation), 470 of Okinawa, the last battle.
- 34 These statements are based on personal conversations with Okinawans who lived through the war, either as soldiers or civilians.
- 35 Materials in the first part of the paragraph are based on personal conversations. The interesting thesis about breast feeding, which I believe has serious defects, will be commented upon in the section on family life. See James C. Moloney, Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99; and, with Charles R. Biddle, A psychiatric hospital in military government, *ibid.* 400-01. Of great interest are the first hand observations of the authors made at Ginoza hospital. For other comments on the behavior of Okinawans during the war, see Okinawa, the last battle, 48, 415-17, 463, 468.

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166 was that large numbers of refugees from the south were sent to the northern area. The destruction of the heavily populated south and central areas, with their many villages, gave new prominence to the northern district whose villages, much less damaged and less densely populated, were now in the best preserved part of the island. The roles of the two regions had, in a sense, been reversed. The northern region was no longer a rustic hinterland.

● [648] In 1945, the Okinawans came under the direct military government of the Americans, and from these early beginnings, which in the heat of conflict were scarcely more than compounds for the relief and care of refugees, there has evolved the extensive present civil administration and the native government.

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177 The Americans have thus been the most recent arrivals on an island with a long history of inertia and change. The results of this last, and probably greatest intrusion into the culture of Okinawa cannot yet be predicted. This cultural influence is a stronger, certainly a much different one, than the great changes which came about when the Japanese set on their course to make over Ryukyuan, especially Okinawan life.

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[178] The war years, with conscription and service in the Japanese army in other parts of the empire, the disruption and deaths in the war, were effective in preventing the handing down of the traditional culture from one generation to another. This may mean a more ready receptivity to newer influences. It will be clear in the pages that follow that many aspects of the culture, familiar to the old, are now unknown to the young.

177 Whether the American influence will be a conservative one, in the sense that the fundamental attitudes and framework of the culture as it existed before the war, will be retained, or whether it will be a revolutionary intrusion remains to be seen. Will, for example, the individuals of the American culture tend to break down the structure of the family system? Or will American influences assert themselves within the framework of the culture, and will the flexible family system absorb only surface influences, leaving the basic culture as it is?

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184 On a preceding page, the point was made that in the earlier periods there probably was not a homogeneous Okinawan culture, that its centers, Naha and Shuri, were under strong contemporary Chinese and Japanese influences, and that in the rural areas an older culture existed relatively unmolested. This gap was narrowed after the island became the seat of a province of the Japanese empire, through such measures as the new land law and the introduction of mass education, direct interferences were made in the traditional life of the rural areas.

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648 In my opinion, the American influence so far has been to close this gap even more, but for different reasons. The Americans have made no direct interferences in the lives of the villages, except in those cases

in which villages have been moved and land preempted for military purposes. The devastation of the war, the mixing of the people, their dispersion as refugees throughout the island prepared the way for greater uniformity. Since the war's end, increased mobility, ease of transportation, the widening of the roads have done much to further obliterate sectional differences in this small island, scarcely sixty miles long.

During historical times, and probably during times now lost to an undocumented past, this island, far from being isolated, has been influenced strongly by other cultures. From the examples which have been given, one can at least gain an intimation of the stability and change that have characterized its experience, and some insight, no matter how slight, into the historical depth of a culture with which the Americans, in one form or another, and for some time to come, will be associated.

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Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

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The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

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Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

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The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

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Conclusion

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In the comparative study of these villages, certain distinctions are worth summarizing. (1) In the southern villages, which lack forest land, there is much more dependence on the uncultivated wild land (genya) which supports the grasses. (2) The forest, in Matsuda as elsewhere in the north, is a reserve for necessities like firewood, thatch, charcoal and building materials, both for local use and southern trade. (3) The shelter belts and groves have been preserved in the north. (4) Tidewater plantings of shelter belts are needed in the south. Plantings of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, under American Civil Administration encouragement, have begun in the south as protection from wind and salt water spray damage. These include the mokumao, the pandanus, the hibiscus (Albizia julibrissin Durazz, in Japanese the nemumoki) and the hiragi (Brugiera spp.)¹² (5) Ecologically, the situation is more balanced in the north where a good start seems to have been made in arresting progressive deforestation. (6) This balance, if Matsuda is a representative village, can only be maintained by constant appraisal of the relationships of the forest to agriculture, to the growing population, and to the economic demands to which this leads, unless the wood and timber demands of the island are to be met in large part by imports.

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An occupying power like the United States, rich in modern techniques, can do much to improve the life of a small island people. If it is mindful of the history and the present features of the culture, it can suggest improvements without destroying the bases on which the culture rests.

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One of its greatest accomplishments could be an aggressive and continuing program of conservation and afforestation. The present administration, through the Forestry Section of the Food and Natural Resources Department, has started a program which, if permanently pursued, could have far-reaching consequences. An emphasis on selective cutting, conservation, fire control, tidewater plantings, and many other measures could only be a credit to American administrators and foresters as well. The costs, as such things go, would be moderate.

From personal experience in village life, I have no doubt that the co-operation of villagers in all parts of the island could be readily obtained in advancing a large scale afforestation program. The readiness of the people of Matsuda cannot be an exception. These things could be accomplished without an unwieldy administrative apparatus. I have been continually struck with the ability of the Okinawans, with their skill in local organization, to accomplish

12 I am indebted to Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources, USCAR, for this information.

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to the family system, the extended family, or to the household order naming system is well worth exploring. No tattooing was observed among the Minatogawa fishermen; but this may have been an oversight. According to an old woman there, it did exist. One would expect it from the close relationship of Minatogawa to Itoman. It is quite probable, in my opinion, that tattooing of men and women have different origins.

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According to the early observers, tattooing of women took place around puberty, although Furness puts the age at 4 or 5 years. Patterns differed distinctly by island.

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In Okinawa, everywhere one hears the same explanation for the origin of women's tattooing. Although there are variants, the core of the explanation is that the Ryukyu islanders (presumably after the Satsuma conquest of 1609) tattooed their young girls to prevent their being carried off to brothels in Japan. The tattooing was supposed to have made the girls so unattractive that they were untouched. Other variations are that the tattoo indicated marriage and thus kept the girl from being taken away. An old woman of Minatogawa told of a legend (not seen or heard from any other source) in which the tattooing of women was an act of thanksgiving for a rescue at sea. A boat was sinking, and the survivors swimming saw two hands in the sky. They stopped the waves and the storm passed, permitting the swimmers to reach shore easily. The families were told, and after that the hands of the women were tattooed.

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This subject needs considerable research. It would be of great interest to know the relationship, if any, to the family system, the extended family, and the household order naming system, whether it is comparatively recent in the islands, and whether the tattooing of the fisherman is a result of Chinese or Portuguese influences and a consequence of the early Pacific trade described in Chapter II.

11

Knuckle Cracking

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One of the most puzzling of Okinawan mannerisms is the frequency of knuckle cracking. It may be observed in young children from 5 to 6 to old men and women in their seventies. It is done on so many occasions that cataloging them would be a real chore. The knuckle is cracked crisply and sharply. Young boys and girls may talk a whole evening, cracking their knuckles incessantly. It occurs in ordinary conversation, at lively parties, and during periods when a conversation lags. Children say they learned it from their mothers.

It seems a habit acquired very early. Perhaps it is an indication of tension, but I am inclined to be less specific. One Okinawan explained it as a continuation of childhood habit and ascribed it to the limberness of the fingers coming from early training on the abacus,

Part I

The Ethnographic Background



Chapter 1

The Setting

THE ISLAND

Okinawa lies a day's voyage by steamer to the southwest of the Japanese island of Kyushu. Leaving Kyushu, the ship passes along the Ryukyuan chain until it reaches Okinawa, the largest of the islands. Land is never completely out of sight until the ship enters the port of Naha, capital of the southern Ryukyus.

The Ryukyus are part of a long string of islands which, beginning in the north with the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin, run all the way south, including Japan, the Ryukyus, Formosa, the Philippines, and the Indonesian archipelago. In their offshore position on the Western rim of the Pacific Ocean, the Ryukyus are within access by small craft from Japan, Korea, and China. This geographic position of the Ryukyus puts them within the sphere of influence of several countries.

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131 a fact which has been a determinant in their historical development
648 and an important factor in speculations about prehistoric events.

105 Until further archaeological evidence permits greater certainty, the
174 original settlement of the Ryukyus is believed to have taken place
predominantly from the Asiatic mainland, with occasional influx from
the southern islands, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Kerr,
1958). Surviving culture elements of great antiquity support these
theories. Most frequently cited are a basic form of Shinto, character-
istic of the religion, and the shamanistic role of the priestesses. Specific-
ally, the "curved jewels," formerly worn by all priestesses, are men-
tioned as apparent links with the neolithic cultures of Japan.

105 On the other hand, sporadic contact with the islands to the south
177 is evidenced by culture traits, such as raised houses of tropical design
174 (common to all of Japan) and perhaps the practice of "mother roast-
[846] ing," a period of recuperation after the birth of a child during which
the mother is kept near a fire. This custom is widespread in Malaysia
(Cole, 1945:155).

197 Linguistic evidence points to a separation of Okinawan from a com-
mon proto Japanese language about 1500 years ago (Hattori, 1954).
This may indicate a southern movement of peoples from Japan under
the pressure of the Yayoi people who introduced the wet rice complex
into southwestern and central Japan at this period. That this was not
the earliest settlement of the Ryukyus, however, is evidenced by re-
mains in the Ryukyus of the earlier Jomon period.

105 From the first mention of the Ryukyus in Chinese annals of 605 A.D.
648 until the end of the nineteenth century when Japan formally annexed
175 the islands, they stood in a curious relationship of dependency toward
China and Japan. Both nations claimed suzerainty over the kingdom
of Okinawa with its royal court in Shuri and extracted tribute. Even-
tually the Lord of Satsuma in southern Japan extended his sovereignty
over the Ryukyus. But with ties to China remaining, Okinawa partici-
pated in both Chinese and Japanese culture, which disseminated
through the urban trading center of Naha into the outlying areas. It
is this intermediate cultural position which still gives Okinawa a
peculiar character, although it long ago became part of Japan and
abandoned direct contacts with China.

105 In 1872 Japan formally declared its claims on the Ryukyuan king-
175 dom, and after deposing the last king in 1879, made the Ryukyuan
177 islands a province of Japan, with the capital at Naha. Between this
648 time and the present, intensive contact with Japan has led to an over-
whelming absorption of Japanese culture, a willingness on the part of
Okinawans to adopt Japanese ways and to identify with Japan as their

Taira: An Okinawan Village 349

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

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197 mutually intelligible. The speech differences are so great that even
191 two neighboring villages have noticeable dialectical variations. Japanese is the second language.

Okinawan is spoken in almost all households. The first words learned by the child from his mother or others around him are Okinawan. The child is praised or scolded in Okinawan; he learns Okinawan terms for numbers, names for plants, tools, and other implements used around the house. A curious exception in this pattern is the use of kinship terms. Taira children start using Japanese kinship terms in infancy with one exception—in some families the grandmother is addressed by the Okinawan term.

• [648] Knowledge of the Okinawan language is said to have been helpful to Americans during the war in distinguishing the local people from Japanese. Japanese has been the official language in Okinawa for over 60 years. It is taught and used in schools exclusively until the upper grades, when foreign languages are introduced. Everybody who has gone to school learns Japanese, and only the oldest persons in Taira speak Okinawan exclusively.

199 Young children, even though they learn to speak Okinawan first,
802 soon pick up Japanese words and phrases. While their Okinawan
191 vocabulary is limited to everyday experiences, the child's horizon is widened gradually by the use of Japanese terms. First formal efforts to teach Japanese are made in kindergarten, and teachers quickly succeed in eliminating the use of Okinawan in class. Even in play groups of school-age children, Japanese is usual. Children frequently censure each other for occasional slips or shifts to Okinawan.

191 Taira adults vary in the use of language. Simple, routine matters in
197 daily living are mostly discussed in Okinawan. This language is also predominant in small, informal social gatherings and in emotionally tense situations, such as domestic quarrels. Furthermore, the priestess and her assistants conduct all religious ceremonies in Okinawan. People resorted to Okinawan in our presence when they did not want to be understood. On the other hand, village meetings and gatherings of village leaders or visits of teachers and other officials are conducted in Japanese.

THE PEOPLE

142 The majority of the Taira people are of short, stocky build, with heavy bones. Their hair growth is strong, their skin dark. A light skin

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178 Although a number of important shrines and worship places are located in the Kawata area, the main shrine is in Taira.

173 To this tranquil area the activities of World War II brought a great upheaval. Although the main stream of refugees from the south, following threats of United States troops' invasion, did not reach this northern area, Japanese guerilla forces settled in the hills of Higashi township. This, and the constant warnings from the Japanese of the "terrors" of American occupation, caused the population of all villages to take refuge in the mountains, carrying along what few possessions they could, including livestock. Families were separated and individuals lived in constant fear of soldiers from both sides. Nightly excursions to the fields to harvest whatever could be found helped to maintain a meager diet. It is characteristic of the stresses of this period that among the children of central Taira only one was born in 1945.

173 The war ended for Taira people when American troops had cleared the northern areas of Japanese troops. In this action several villages were destroyed, among them Taira. The present economic struggle of Higashi township, an area which was always handicapped by lack of farmland and poor soil, is partly due to the war. On the other hand, the demand for lumber for an island-wide reconstruction program lent a temporary boom to the economy. In the process, however, forests [185] which had been heavily cut before the war fell prey to rapid and poorly planned cutting. At present the whole township is in the throes of economic readjustment.

173 In the past 50 years, Taira, like the rest of Okinawa, has sent some of its overflow of population to various areas in the world, including Japan, and especially to the industrial areas of Kobe and Osaka, Saipan, and Brazil. At least five of the families in central Taira lived either in Japan or the Pacific Islands and returned shortly after World War II. Emigrants to Brazil have stayed with the exception of one prominent person who returned to Taira several years before the war. Some of the families lived as many as 18 or 20 years abroad, and several children in the study were born in Japan and returned to the village as infants. Among the villagers are many who have served in the Japanese Army in Asia or in the South Seas.

The repatriation of these families does not seem to have caused any serious disturbances to the village, since many people were killed during the war and several families moved to the city. An exodus to the [311] outlying areas of the village also provided room for returnees, so, although rice land is scarce, there is still some uncultivated farmland, admittedly mostly of poor quality.

000 The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles

86/ forced when his mother does search for him and takes him home. Furthermore, she serves him the dinner which he was to have been deprived of as punishment. This theme appears not only in reality [125] but also in the children's projections in the verbal TAT's.

There are, however, threats of withdrawal of love by the mother which evoke great fear of actual loss of love among children. These fears are based on the fact that, in contrast with the foregoing examples, no happy ending can be expected from this threatened punishment. The child is no longer confident that his mother's feelings will soften in the long run when she says to a disobedient son: "We will sell you to the Itoman fisherman." The boy has undoubtedly heard stories of little boys being sold to southern Okinawan fishermen. Such words make him quake with fear, and he promises to obey. Girls, on the other hand, are told they will be "changed for money" and made to live a life of virtual slavery in the house of strangers. These threats [466] have a realistic basis; children know that until recent times boys were [548] sold to fishermen and that girls paid off their parents' debts by working in a house of prostitution or for a farmer who accepted the extra hand instead of money for his debt. At least two persons still live in the village who had such experiences when they were young. One woman can testify to the mistreatment which she received from her masters during indentured labor, and such stories of many cases which are widely known are passed on to children.

At present a new twist has been added to the old theme. Mothers [648] silence a crying child with, "If you don't stop crying, we will give you to the Negroes." Now and then a grandmother will point to a jeep full of soldiers passing by and warn, "Eh! Come home now or we give you to the Americans." The response is usually immediate. The frightened child runs home, clutching onto his grandmother's kimono while the old woman cackles with amusement.

Some mothers threaten their children with running away themselves and leaving them with their fathers. This technique proves just as effective as the former, for a child's concept of support or love with respect to his father is never clearly defined.

One mother, after a particularly exasperating day, thought she would make good her threat to run away from the house. She packed some clothes in a bundle and started off in the direction of the main road. Quickly ducking around houses, she ended up a couple of houses away from her own and sat sipping tea with her neighbor in the back room. Meanwhile, the child, who had been hiding from her mother all day to avoid chores, discovered that her mother was missing. She started to search the village and was told by cooperating adults that

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.¹ Although they appear to differ widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect. 197

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.² These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity. [621]

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view; but with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanagusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it. [554] [177] [648] [177] [545] [554] [226]

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self-sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (*munchu*) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A *munchu* was made up of a number [361] 197 105 [566] [565] [621]

¹ Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

² Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

191 (mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and
 178 music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no
 191 other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of
 178 the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the *Kagiyadefu* (which some Okina-
 533 was liken to a national anthem), *Nubui Kuduchi*, *Hamachidori*, *Tanchame* are
 known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry
 as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and vir-
 191 tually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigen-
 178 ous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language
 794 of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one
 priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the
 language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or *umui*
 (sometime rendered *omoro*) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these
 are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly
 191 contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inex-
 178 tricably linked to it are shamans (*yuta*) and fortune tellers ('*ekisha*'). The
 756 former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned
 791 with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is
 usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpre-
 tations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of
 Changes (*I Ching*), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer,
 may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular,
 but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the
 shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

175 Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government ini-
 191 tiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national
 177 state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of
 643 Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrina-
 tion to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to
 making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Nara-
 hara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than
 175 all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs. At the start the Japanese
 191 were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers; and so the program moved ahead
 177 slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the
 871 bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully opera-
 tive until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace
 Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities
 for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two
 generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received
 no more than six years of education.

191 Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becom-
 177 ing a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the
 554 prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and
 high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern
 life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards
 competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

¹ Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

464 the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the
 [463] 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900
 for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer
 had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but
 receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and
 cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that
 he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow
 445 is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone
 426 else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on
 435 the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep
 379 of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black
 249 sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100
 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use
 of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another
 charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by,
 and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the
 war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

464 Buying of Labor and Services Many times farmers have need of a great amount
 575 of labor in a short period of time. Then they
 are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the
 'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field
 for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300
 'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The
 'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in
 the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quoted: women and new
 [465] members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers
 445 to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice
 • [648] paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bull-
 [433] dozers are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted
 into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for
 machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of
 [262] paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted
 field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for
 finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at
 Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dis-
 satisfied with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy.
 [435] For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000
 additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for
 ¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and
 polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring
 village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash
 for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or

621 For administrative purposes villages are subdivided into sections or
 179 neighborhoods called 'han' or 'kumi'. There is considerable variation in the
 use of these terms throughout Okinawa, in part occasioned by the recency of
 their introduction and by the confusion following the end of the war. In 1940
 648 the Japanese government ordered all municipalities (shi-chō-son) subdivided
 into 'rimpō-han' (settlement sections) which in turn were subdivided into 'tonari-
 gumi' (neighborhood groups). The move was a political one designed to insure
 more effective control; the divisions were often quite arbitrary and had little
 relation to social groupings. The term 'kumi', however, had been in use for a
 long time in both Japan and Okinawa, referring to a group of households. That
 178 these subdivisions have survived into the postwar period indicates that they
 are fulfilling a function necessary to village administration.

621 A large village such as Henza (of Henza Shima), which has a population
 624 of 3800, is subdivided into 5 'han' each headed by an official called 'hanchō'.
 Every 'han' is subdivided into 'kumi'; there are 41 'kumi' in the village, ap-
 proximately 8 to each 'han'. Each 'kumi' contains from 12-20 houses; the head
 of the 'kumi' is the 'kumichō'. In a smaller village such as Kanegusuku-ku
 which has a population of 507, the 'han' no longer exists; instead the term
 'kumi' is applied to the four subdivisions of the village. In Kanegusuku the
 'kumichō' functions as the intermediary between the 'kuchō' and the people of
 the area; there are on the average 25 houses in each 'kumi'. 'Kumichō' are
 elected each year by the 'kumi' though in actuality the position is really ro-
 tated among the households within the 'kumi'. One of the chief functions of
 the 'kumi' is to provide labor for community work projects. When the township
 office requests that the 'kuchō' have his village repair a section of a road,
 he calls in the 'kumichō' and tells them how many workers will be needed. The
 'kumichō' notify the household heads within their 'kumi' and the households
 supply in rotation the needed labor. When local clean-up is in order as pre-
 preparation for a township inspection, the 'kumichō' supervises the work in his
 area. Tax collections for village finances are generally made by him, and when
 tax collections are made by the township, he notifies his constituents as to
 the time and place of payment.

The importance of the 'kumichō' or 'hanchō' is dependent on the physical
 nature of the village and its size. In a small tightly-nucleated village like
 Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions mainly as an intermediary or messenger be-
 tween the 'kuchō' and the people of the 'kumi' and as a foreman on their work
 details. In a larger village whose 'han' are scattered into more isolated neigh-
 borhoods or settlements the 'hanchō' often functions more like a 'kuchō'. In
 Kanegusuku the divisions are more or less arbitrary ones, and there is definitely
 no feeling of strong identity with a particular 'kumi'. However, in the village
 of Tomoyose where Pitts studied, the isolated settlement of Manahan (literally
 ("Bar Seven") felt itself to be a distinct unit and functioned not unlike a very
 small village.

621 Most villages have a small building set aside for use as an office or
 344 meeting place. These are usually called *muraya* in Okinawan or *jimusho* in
 Japanese. In a large village like Henza the office is nearly as large as those
 of some of the smaller 'son', containing desks, telephone, records, and a full-
 time staff. In Kanegusuku a small bare hut large enough for only a dozen peo-
 ple suffices. When village meetings are held, the officials sit inside the
 building while the people sit outside facing them. Village records are stored
 in the home of the 'kuchō' or the clerk.

'Koseki' Changes The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanahan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures. 161
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'Koseki' Inaccuracies The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in order to bring about a change in their luck. [77]

Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved elsewhere. 217
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Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made. [369]
[829]

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

The New 'Koseki' Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies 217
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217 need information having to do with widows, orphans, and the war dead. An interesting study might revolve around comparisons between the temporary 'koseki' and the new one. A study of the 'museki' persons should be very revealing in regard to aspects of lower-class life.

Usefulness in Research

[77] The 'koseki' is a mine of information of great potential value to anthropologists and other social scientists. A study of the personal names of people, especially women, would help show when new ideas came into the village. Name changes are often registered because a person feels his luck will change with a better-sounding name. Those 'koseki' which record the 'yagō', or house name, would enable one to make an extensive survey of the munchu system. A complete study of a 'son's' population should include supplementary records from the land ownership register and tax rolls.

When more accurate records are kept upon those who have left the village for urban work, the 'koseki' will provide many opportunities to study the process and pace of urbanization. Finally, in the process of copying a 'koseki', innumerable opportunities arise for consulting 'son' office personnel on customs and practices in the villages, thus providing new insights into Okinawan life. All in all, the 'koseki' is a most useful document whose possibilities have scarcely been tapped by social scientists.

175 family, but in actual practice the family often received a far lower percent-
 423 age, since with a fixed tax there was no possibility of compensating for crop
 651 failure, decline in productivity, and population growth. Tax payments were
 made in grain though cloth was also accepted. In addition to the inflexi-
 bility of the tax system there was a lack of uniformity in tax levies; cer-
 tain areas such as Kunigami and the outer islands bore an unequal tax load,
 and farmers in all areas paid a proportionately higher tax than the of-
 ficials and upper classes. These inequalities inherent in the system plus
 [433] the periodic redistribution of plots served to curb any interest which the
 farmer might have had in improving his holdings; consequently, productivity
 was said to be very low.

423 Vestiges of this system may still be found in some of the peripheral
 178 areas of Okinawa. The village of Oku in northern Kunigami-son still has com-
 munal ownership of its forest lands, and on Kudaka Shima off Chinen Peninsula
 a villager must turn his land over to the community when he goes to live
 elsewhere.

2. Okinawa-ken (1879-1945). Japanese Administration and the Termination of the Land Allotment System

175 Following the annexation of Okinawa, the new government embarked on
 648 a program designed to integrate Okinawa (and the southern Ryukyus) into the
 179 national state. The task facing the early administrators was a difficult
 one, for in addition to differences in language and culture Okinawa was poor
 in natural resources and possessed an antiquated administrative system. It
 was soon realized that modernization could not be accomplished overnight;
 therefore the Japanese allowed virtually all of the old customs to be re-
 tained during the first twenty years of their administration, and efforts
 were directed toward educating a sufficient number of Okinawans to assist
 [565] them in carrying out the program. Though the old class system was abolished,
 members of the former classes continued to subsist on pensions now paid by
 the new government, and in the rural areas life continued much as before
 except that the mura replaced the majiri as the land-holding and disbursing
 175 unit. By 1899 the government was prepared to introduce more radical changes,
 648 and in March of that year Law 59 relating to land adjustment was promulgated.
 179 Its objectives were to confirm private ownership and to determine land
 423 values for tax purposes. The importance which the administration attached
 to this measure was clearly stated by Narahara Shigeru, superintendent of the
 Land Adjustment Board, "Now, the only way to reform the administration is
 to destroy old customs, but its accomplishment must be commenced with the
 reform of the system of land taxation, the very foundation of the old cus-
 toms."¹ Following a mapping survey which began in 1899, officials went into
 the villages to explain the purposes of the law and to settle conflicting
 claims. Private ownership was generally confirmed in favor of the cultiva-
 tor. By 1903 the land reform was carried through to a successful completion.

Private ownership of land was accompanied by the introduction of Jap-
 anese laws of property and inheritance; their combined effect was to alter
 substantially the prevailing social organization and economic balance of the
 rural community. Land formerly held by the family under the communal

¹ Summary of the Land Adjustment in the Okinawa Prefecture, 1904, p. 11.

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succession involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do everything possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, purchase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has suggested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented and landlordism has been common there for centuries.

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were extended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been applied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were considerably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most violent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

¹ Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

175 area which resulted in a twenty percent reduction in the civilian population
 727 and in the destruction of virtually every city, town, and village. The
 densely-populated southern half of the island, scene of the heaviest fighting,
 was particularly devastated.

Staggering reconstruction tasks faced the military government at the conclusion of the war, and at first nearly all its efforts were absorbed in managing the problems of food and health for the civilian population. In the course of the campaign nearly all of the people had been removed into civilian internment camps, and many remained there for nearly a year or more before returning to their homes. Most returned to find their homes destroyed and fields overgrown with weeds or littered with the debris of war. In a few areas whole villages were replaced by military installations. The average village found itself without housing, its fields in an unusable condition, and its families decimated. In most cases the district office ('sonyakuba') had been destroyed and with it all family and land records. The physical destruction of the war and the humiliation of defeat left the population apathetic and indifferent for some time. One informant stated this feeling succinctly, "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more." A former war-time and post-war mayor of one village informed the author that nearly six years were required to restore the land to its pre-war state, and he expressed the opinion that this recovery was unduly prolonged by the generous food ration issued by the military government: "No one wanted to work as long as there was free food. Without this food it could have been done in two or three years."

175 On April 14, 1950, the military governor issued Special Proclamation
 423 36 which authorized the issuance of new certificates of land title.¹ The
 measure necessitated surveying and preparing new land maps and issuing new
 449 titles. It was first necessary to set up schools to train personnel for
 carrying out the assignment. The mapping job was one which the authors
 heard praised in all farm villages, with a number of informants remarking
 that Okinawa now had the best land maps of any time in its history. In the
 confirmation of ownership local bodies were made sovereign, but the individual
 had the right of appeal to the courts.

423 Copies of the land titles are kept in three offices, the land registry
 649 and tax collection offices in the district office ('sonyakuba') and in
 the Central Land Office located in Naha. Under the law all land transactions,
 rental or sale, must be registered within thirty days; however, even the
 most casual check of these records plus a knowledge of local holdings
 indicates that this is not being done, for both the bookkeeping and registration
 appear to lag far behind transactions. This does not seem to be the result
 of any deliberate attempt to withhold information but rather appears due
 to a lack of concern for such details on the part of the individuals concerned.
 The same sort of situation prevails in the registration of births and
 deaths. Another factor might well be that the large number of land
 transactions occurring in the postwar period have left the farmer disinclined

¹ Ryukyū Statistical Bulletin, no. 5, May 1950.

[Yamada]

621 One reason for this greater concentration may have been the greater
 361 need for cooperation during the period of rebuilding; another may have been
 178 the greater dependence since the war on the outside and the resulting greater
 177 dependence on the new highways and buses; but a third reason for the present
 concentration seems to have been a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of
 American units. There are still units on three sides of Yamada, two in the
 hills behind and one towards the sea between the settlement and the next
 village of Maeda. A Tarigaa woman gave the presence of American soldiers in
 the hills as a definite reason for not returning to her isolated home. A
 part of the rebuilt Ajimaa extended for a time in the direction of the nearest
 unit but in the last two or three years these houses have one by one been
 removed toward the center of the settlement.

621 The present asa is divided into five 'han', which are said also to
 178 function as chinju. However, the division seems to have been made along
 'koaza' boundaries and this has resulted in a very uneven distribution of
 households per 'han'. Since the settlement pattern is still changing it
 seems likely that units of a more equal size will develop.

621 The orientation of Yamada, as well as its settlement pattern, has
 178 changed. Before the war contacts were nearly all to the north and south
 484 along the west shore of the island; people went south to Kadena on their
 rare shopping trips. Now, good highways and an excellent bus system not
 only run north and south but also link the west shore with the east shore
 via Nakadomari and Ishikawa. Since the war and the internment of many of
 the Yamada people at Ishikawa, going to town had meant going to Ishikawa,
 and people who once went twice a year to Kadena may now go to Ishikawa twice
 a week. People still go south to Kadena, but now more often as employees of
 the Americans commuting to work.

621 Formal Relations At the time that the Yamada people returned to their
 177 village in 1946 they received material aid from the
 American Military Government, with which to rebuild. For a time after, they
 727 continued to receive a food ration ('haikyū') that was distributed from the
 • [648] 'haikyūjo', which later became the cooperative store. However, for several
 years now they seem to have had very little direct contact with the Military
 Government or its successor USCAR. On the other hand they have had consider-
 able contact, both formal and informal, with the 'butai', the "unit", that
 is stationed just a few hundred yards from the settlement of Kuraha. This
 relationship was evidently in a process of change while I worked in Yamada
 early in 1954.

All of the villagers with whom I discussed the matter seemed agreed
 that for a period in the recent past the relationship had been very good.
 During the previous year the CO of the unit had held monthly meetings with
 the 'kuchō' of Yamada and three neighboring villages and with the teachers of
 the Yamada school, which serves all four villages. The purpose of these
 meetings was said to be the discussion of mutual problems, and in this they
 had a fair degree of success. For example the local people asked the unit to
 decrease the speed of trucks coming through the village, and this was done.
 The unit in turn asked the villagers to try to stop women from sneaking into

It

186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not
a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
• 648 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is
a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the
social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make inter-
action on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural back-
grounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives
and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
[17] denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap,
as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent.
Factors that have entered into the formation of these
attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
648 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu"
829 (Yamato; that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make a
distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state
of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed
to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
174 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
177 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that
829 the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan,
in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be
politically independent and their political independence made it possible for
them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments,
particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer con-
tact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of
Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind
of Chinese.

2) Japanese Political Administration On the negative side is the domination, during the period of Japanese administration, of Okinawan public life by men from Japan. But on the other hand Okinawa became another prefecture and not a colony, and there were possibly not many more men in Okinawa from Japan's urban centers than in other remote and poor prefectures. As Japanese subjects in a Japanese prefecture, Okinawans could rise in the Japanese system and indeed a few did. The position of Okinawa was quite different from that of Korea.

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Insofar as the Japanese policy of assimilation was successful, the fact that most of the important posts in the prefectural government were occupied by men from Tokyo could be ignored. If the Okinawans identified themselves as Japanese the difference would be less important. (The degree of Japanese domination and the harshness of the regime, moreover, seem to have become exaggerated in the minds of many of the Americans on Okinawa at present; some of the USCAR personnel with whom we talked appeared to be unaware of the fact that Okinawa had the same legal status as other parts of Japan.)

3) Japanese Assimilation Policy The policy of the Japanese government and particularly that of the Ministry of Education was undoubtedly one of cultural imperialism. The aim was to produce a uniform people. A strong attempt was made to eradicate the native language and many native customs that did not agree with Japanese ideals, the periodic redivision of land ('jiwari seido') and the use of the pigpen as a toilet, to name two. School teachers labelled the Okinawan language a "dialect" of Japanese, thus giving it inferior status, and labelled many Okinawan beliefs "superstitions". The army also undoubtedly attempted to replace Okinawan with Japanese ideals in many young men. These attempts may have produced hostility in some Okinawans, but it is our impression that the more usual result was to produce merely a feeling of inferiority. Okinawan speech and culture went down in value and Japanese speech and culture went up. Younger Okinawans who could not speak good Japanese felt inferior, but within the Japanese hierarchy. Moreover, in recent years Okinawan speech and customs have been given new prestige as museum pieces by the fact that outstanding Japanese scholars have devoted some attention to them.

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4) Treatment of Okinawans in Japan Undoubtedly Okinawans who went to Japan in the twenties and thirties to look for employment were discriminated against by Japanese employers. A great number of Okinawans went to Osaka to work in the textile mills. Accounts of informants reveal that the mill foremen stereotyped Okinawans as lazy and unreliable and did not hesitate to say so. (In view of the conditions of labor, Americans in the same position might well have earned the same stereotype.) Some mills did not hire Okinawans if they could avoid it.

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In rural Japan people were in utter ignorance of Okinawa. Students who were evacuated in 1944 to Kyushu discovered this. One young man told how the peasants in Miyazaki-ken thought that Okinawans were South Sea Islanders and expected them to come wearing clothes made of the leaves of trees and expected to have to teach them how to cook rice.

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3) View of American Social Life With the large number of American women and children now on Okinawa and the large number of Okinawans employed as domestic servants, there is considerable opportunity for Okinawans to observe American family life. However, they may very well be getting a somewhat distorted view of American life by trying to generalize from the rather luxurious quarters provided for American dependents and from the behavior of American women who have now, many for the first time in their lives, plenty of domestic help.

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4) Official Policy On the positive side, the Okinawans were impressed by the generosity of the Americans with relief, especially in the early days of the occupation, they are impressed with the highway and communication system the occupation has brought them, and they have much good to say about changes in the police system, education, and other aspects of government—along with criticisms, of course, as had been discussed elsewhere. On the negative side, the most persistent criticisms have to do with the land question and the question of self-government.

A chapter has already been devoted to the land question. To summarize the points pertaining to this discussion: many Okinawans feel, and apparently with some justification, that the Army has not paid adequate rental on land. In some instances the payments have not reached the owners at all. In addition some Okinawans feel that land has been unnecessarily diverted from its vital agricultural use. One example is the unused airfield next to the village of Kitazato; another would be the Awase Meadows Golf Course. The resentment felt about the loss of land is re-enforced by the important cultural theme that we have stated elsewhere: one must not interfere with the livelihood of another. The Army, by taking land and not paying adequately for it, has interfered with the livelihood of the farmers.

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The question of self-government, to be discussed adequately, would require a whole chapter on the history of GRI and its predecessors; since this study was aimed at the community level, the history and structure of GRI were not investigated. The gist of the argument is, however, that instead of progressing toward a greater degree of self-government the Ryukyu Islands are in fact slipping backward. The present GRI with its appointed chief executive replaced an organization with an elected chief. Hence one of the two major political parties has insisted on an elected chief executive. The other major party is that of the chief executive. Those who see the appointment of the chief executive by USCAR as undemocratic assert that USCAR's professions to be bringing democracy to Okinawa are simply not true. Occasional

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clumsy maneuvers on the part of USCAR have only provided them with more ammunition. For example, various labor organizations and the People's Party (which is pretty clearly affiliated with the Communist Party of Japan) were planning to stage a parade on the First of May, 1954. USCAR opposed this, apparently feeling that the participation of the People's Party would make it look like a Communist demonstration. But in opposing it USCAR asserted that May Day is strictly a Communist holiday and on several occasions gave it the label "Karl Marx Day". A number of Okinawans pointed out that May Day was originally an American Labor holiday that had nothing to do with Marx, quoted encyclopedia articles to prove it, and concluded that the USCAR officials were either ignorant or deliberately misrepresenting the truth.

Actually, of course, although the adoption of May Day as a labor holiday had nothing to do with Karl Marx, it has been preempted by the Communists throughout the world, and the added participation of the People's Party on this occasion would have made it a Communist demonstration irrespective of the origin of the holiday. 648 829

Another rumor, not about corruption but about official policy, is one that we heard several times to the effect that the cost of the American occupation and particularly of dependent housing is coming out of the taxes paid by Okinawans. To the people of as poor a country as Okinawa it is nearly incredible that a country could be so wealthy that it is willing to build hundreds of beautiful homes (at an estimated cost of \$20,000 to \$30,000 each) in such a distant spot. This sort of belief is undoubtedly very damaging to the American position.

Attitudes toward American Negroes Since the first days of the occupation there have been Negro troops stationed on Okinawa. The Okinawan view of them and especially of their status in relation to white Americans is worth noting. The Okinawans do not use the word "American" or its equivalent for Negroes, but instead use one of several other words. Perhaps the commonest is 'kurombo' ("black-boy"), which may be identified with the English derogatory term "nigger". At any rate many Negroes on Okinawa have evidently made the identification; they are said to become angry when they hear the term used. The standard term, corresponding to the English "Negro", is 'Kokujin', but this also is said to be unacceptable to some; therefore other terms may be used when speaking of a Negro in his presence. One such term is 'iro-otoko', which means literally "colored-man", but figuratively, "lover". The Okinawan attitudes toward Negroes are conditioned by three factors, Japanese racial attitudes, their observation of Negro-white relations on Okinawa, and the behavior of the Negro troops. 186 829

The Japanese are, or were before the Pacific War, a race-proud people. They classified the peoples of the South Seas and Southeast Asia as 'dojin', "natives", and their attitudes toward them were inclined to be colonial, exploitive, and superior. It is quite likely that Okinawans identify the American Negroes as 'dojin'. They probably have no concept of "colored" races; they certainly do not identify themselves with the Negroes as non-white. But since many Okinawans are aware that some Americans look upon Okinawans as a sort of "native people", the attitudes of white Americans toward non-white Americans are of especial interest to them.

In observing the American Army's treatment of Negroes the Okinawans have seen segregation and some discrimination. At present there are de jure no segregated units as there were during the Pacific War, but a unit at an ammunition dump near a village studied is still referred to as the 'kurombo batai'. The behavior of the Negro troops themselves is probably on the average a bit rowdier and less inhibited than that of the whites, partly because of an average lower education and partly because of some cultural differences especially in patterns of recreation. This behavior probably together with some stereotypes picked up from white Americans has made many Okinawans somewhat afraid of Negroes. Relations seem to be better, however, in those